their women occasionally turn Buddhist for the sake of marrying a well-to-do Ladáki, it is much more unusual for them to do so than for Ladaki women to turn Mahomedan. 563 583 797

It follows, therefore, that the árGHón population of Ladák, (confined almost entirely to the town of Leh and its immediate vicinity) is increasing more rapidly than the Buddhist population. [162]

The language of the arGHons is Tibetan, and they affect Mahomedanism. They go to the Musjid to pray, they can repeat the "Kalma" or "declaration of faith," and they know the ordinary ritual, this is enough for them, and they think themselves very good Mahomedans. 197 563

When left to themselves, the Ladákis were free from religious bigotry, and their womenkind scorned to hide their faces from the public gaze; but since the Dogra conquest of the country, they have (excepting for about 10 years, when there was an English Governor of Ladák), been ruled over by Wazirs, some of them Hindus and some of them Mahomedans, but all of them inhabitants of India, and the result is, that Ladák is being slowly, but surely, impregnated with the barbarous Indian ideas in connection with religion and matrimony. Already the árGHóns are beginning to shut their women up in Zananas, while the árGHón women as often as not, veil their faces when pass-[57]ing strangers in the streets. Child marriages are becoming more common, and the people are being taught that polyandry, that invaluable safe guard against over population, with its inevitable consequences of poverty, disease, misery and crime, is disgraceful. 798 178 177 583 562 595

Mr. Drew gives the ArGHóns a very bad character, he says "the half castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from." I have been in Ladák for over four years, and have had a good deal more experience of Ladákis than Mr. Drew had, and I have no hesitation in saying that he has maligned them, as a whole. 114 563

Under the "nikah" system, it of course happens that in the course of half a dozen years, a woman may have had half a dozen different husbands, and as many different families. In such cases the children of all but the last husband, are homeless waifs, and develop into persons such as Mr. Drew describes, but it also frequently happens that "nikah" marriages are not 563 583 851 114

563 583 851 114 dissolved, and in such cases, the children have all the ordinary advantages of a home, and grow up very decent members of society. The same remark applies to ArGHóns of other than the first generation. In other words, if ArGHóns are scoundrels, it is owing to the unfortunate circumstances under which they grew up, and not to any inherent defect in the breed.

A good ArGHón is the best man in Ladák; he has more intelligence, more courage, and more enterprise than the Ladak Buddhist, and so far as I know he is not a whit less trustworthy.

181 105 [4r3] The ordinary Ladák Buddhists are as nice a race as one could find anywhere, they are a cheery, simple, honest, easy going people, but they must ever remain a subject race, for they are not clever, and they are cowardly and unambitious. They all have land, and their one desire is to be left in peace to live on the land. They have no desire to be rich, and so long as they have enough to live upon, they strongly object to earning money by the sweat of their brow. They do a little trade with the Tibetans of Lhása territory, but they have no commercial instincts or aptitude. The ArGHóns on the other hand, as a rule, have no land, and they therefore have to keep their wits about them to earn their bread. They are far better traders than the Buddhists, they are quite ready to work for money, and they generally speak two languages viz., Tibetan and Turki or Tibetan and Kashmiri.

[434] 563 4r3 443

In physique they are certainly equal to the Buddhists, and in personal appearance, more particularly the women, they are far superior to them.

137 114 767 [58] HARE--reeong or reebong. Ladákis consider that hares are of the same "genus" as asses. Cunningham (p. 203) says that Tibetans do not eat hares, in Ladák this is not so.

●562 563 HAREM--áney (or bómo) duksa khángpa. The Ladáki women are not confined in harems, nor do they wear veils when in the streets. The ArGHons (see "Half caste") are beginning to think it a mark of respectability to shut up their women.

241 HARROW--sarhniom (the Indian harrow, merely a log of wood, which when drawn by oxen over the fields, breaks up the clods and covers the newly sown seed with earth. It is not used in Ladák), vat (the Ladák hand harrow, like a rake, only with a smooth surface instead of teeth).

000 HAUNTED--drey-zhukskhan or gongpó-zhukskhan. The former

311 UNCULTIVATED--stong (waste land); tha (land which is only temporarily uncultivated).

556 /165/ URN--samáwár. The Russian combination tea-pot and urn.
415 A cylinder for holding charcoal, passes through the centre, and the tea and water are put in and boiled by means of this charcoal. These urns are much used by the well-to-do people of Ladák, especially when on a journey.

426 USURER--phar-zákhan. The Indian and Kashmiri traders of Leh do
792 not do much in the way of money-lending. The people seldom borrow anything but grain, and this they usually borrow from the monasteries. The Indian bazar rates of interest prevail in Ladák. For money, one anna per rupee per mensem is the usual charge, and for grain "sowái" is paid, that is to say, for every four parts of grain borrowed, five must be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

562 /166/ VEIL TO--yola kap ches (general); rdongyol kap ches (the
292 face). Tibetan ladies do not ordinarily wear veils, except in the case of the ex-Raja's wife, who is supposed, when she appears in public, to wear a veil, called "SHokSHok," which is made of silver wire and studded with pearls and turquoises.

577 /167/ VIRTUE--geywa. The ten chief virtues, as defined by the
779 Buddhist scriptures, are the abstaining from (1) killing, (2) stealing, (3) fornication, (4) lying, (5) abuse, (6) idle talking; (7) calumniating, (8) avarice, (9) mischief, (10) heterodoxy.

574 VISIT TO--jal la chha ches (when the inferior goes to visit the
554 superior); jal la yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an
195 inferior); thuga chha ches or thuk ches (when the visit is between equals); thuga yong chuk ches (to receive the visit of an equal).

VISIT--jalches (of an inferior to a superior); thukches (between equals).

VISITOR--jalkhan (of inferior rank); thukkhan (equal in rank to the person visited).

862 /168/ WEAN TO--peebee chat ches. Ladákis don't wean their children till they are two, or even three, years old.

564 WEAVER--thakkhan. There is no "weaver caste" in Ladák.

286 /169/ WIDOW--mórangmo. But see "Marriage," "Divorce," and
589 "Remarriage."
601

585 Late into the afternoon everybody gives himself over to the enjoyment of what is served. A moment which everyone awaits with tense anticipation is that when the large wedding cake (abran-rgyas) is taken apart. Two men from the tribe of the Chirpon see to this matter. The first "tile" is thrown in a wide arc over the heads of the bystanders, as an offering to the gods. The dogs and crows who have long been waiting for this moment again receive the offering greedily. Then the tsampa tiles are distributed among the guests and those that may be left over are handed out to the poor who have come to the wedding in great numbers. At this occasion fighting again takes place.

The beer is eagerly consumed by the men. Ceaselessly women [562] go through the rows and pour beer into the drinking bowls before they are quite emptied. The women have no time to sit down with the men and to feast and amuse themselves with them. Nor is this customary. It is their duty to wait upon the men. Lady Deskyid, the mother of the bride, supervises the cooking and distribution of the food and the drinks in the chansa above and in the courtyard below. The women of the circle of relatives and of the clan look after the serving and the many matters that must be attended to at such a large wedding. In between they may occasionally find a few minutes to spare for eating mouthfuls, drinking a bowl of tea and above all for prattling. [273] A few women armed with osier switches go around between the drinking men, and whenever they find that a man is not drinking a proper amount of beer they give him a few blows on his back amid joking words. This is the drinking enforcement (nan-can). Moderate drinking is considered detrimental to the happiness of the betrothed couple.

585 533 539 In between, individual men sing songs. Thus a young man from Kalatse first sang the song of the "secret love"; it was said that secretly he had been in love with the daughter of the Chirpon.

/98/ Up yonder on the green slope
There blooms a lovely little flower.
Listen, you boy!
It blooms forth beautifully.
Listen, you boy!
Pick the little flower,
Oh you boy!
Pick the lovely one and guard it well!

594 as that of the Bagpo who takes his bride (bag-ma) into his
855 father's house. The Bagpo finally becomes the master of the entire property, in his capacity as heir in his father's house, when the father bequeathes this property to him. But in the
●[562] case of the Magpa relationship the daughter who marries the Magpa is the heiress and the mistress in the house after the death of the father. She has full authority over the property (the house, field and cattle), over the children which are the offspring of this marriage, and finally also over her husband. If there should be a disagreement with the latter which is not evened out in due time, the woman has the right to turn the Magpa out of the house and to choose a new one, something which happens quite often and is carried out without many scruples. It also happens that the Magpa by his efficiency gains a respected position and decisive influence in the house
[595] and in the clan of his bride. In Central and East Tibet it happens that as many as two or three men are taken into one house as Magpa of one or more girls, sisters of the same parents.

ooo to-do farmer Oltangpa (house name, meaning "Clover-fielder") in the village of Tagmachig beyond the Indus River. The youngest of the three brothers entered, when he was only seven years old, as pupil (btsun-ĉuń) the monastery Ri-rdsong, which was one day's journey away and the monks of which were known for their strict observation of the rules of the order. There he gradually, in the course of the years, moved up the hierarchy of clerical dignities to become abbot (slob-dpon). One of Namgyal's sisters married as bag-ma into a house in Tingmogang. The youngest went into the convent as a nun and finally as recluse she moved into a /117/ small cell in the neighborhood of the hermitage of the pious hermit Tsetan in the nearby Skyinling gorge. The penchant for escape from the world and towards asceticism had for a very long time been apparent among many of the members of the mother's tribe. Several members of the family had played a part as abbots or heads of monasteries. With other members of the family the attraction towards the "world" had been all the stronger.

In this manner the problem of settling the future of the children in the house of Dragshos found a happy solution; and Namgyal saw himself in the privileged position of being able to enjoy all to himself

595 But it must be said that
562 nevertheless the woman's position in general is a much higher and more dignified one than that of the woman in India, especially those in Hindu families. The Tibetan woman in the polyandrous marriage often occupies a highly honored, yes, even dominating influence as mother of the family and as mistress of the sacred hearth. Exceptions only go to prove the rule. Compare also Tafel, Meine Tibetreise /My Tibetan Journey/, Stuttgart, Berlin and Leipzig, Union Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, p. 342 ff.

Marital Life and Household.

000 Drogpa Namgyal and Chosskyid became an increasingly happy married couple. It is true that the talk before the marriage about Chosskyid's tendency towards frivolity had not been entirely unfounded. The atmosphere in her parental house was not a good one, her father was a man of the world who in no way took the third commandment of the Buddhists (130) literally. But when she was removed from the

[779] 130. "Thou shalt not commit illicit sexual intercourse," says the third of the ten commandements of the Buddhists.

unhealthy environment of the parental home, and came under the influence of her husband who gave her support with a loving and firm hand, and when she was brought into the education of her husband's energetic grandmother, she developed into a faithful wife and an efficient housewife.

842 It was a great grief for her that she was denied a child for two years, all the more so since it is considered a disgrace for a Tibetan [781] woman to be sterile (mo-śam). Upon the advice of the hermit Tsetan, her husband called five lamas into the house, who for two days performed ceremonies (sku-rim) and mumbled prayers to the benign [776] goddess, the sovereign White Tara (sgrol-dkar), asking them to present Chosskyid with a son. During this time the lamas were entertained well and amply with food and drink. Lobsang Wanggyal also put a silver coin into the hand of each of the red-coats, as they were leaving. Despite all this Chosskyid continued to be denied the joys of motherhood. Thereupon the hermit advised her /118/ to do a pilgrimage to the nearby monastery of Tingmogang and to have new brass offering lamps placed before the image of the White Tara there. This she

the Mongol characteristics. They[1] were inclined to be squat, their noses flat, their foreheads high. They parted their hair in the middle, tying it at the back in a tight knot. Their hair, shiny with the oil from apricot pits, was adorned by headdress. One wore a white egg-shaped pin (*poshel*) at the top of her forehead; the other wore yellow egg-shaped pins on her temples. Each had long earrings of gold and several bracelets of silver on each wrist. They were barefooted, their toes gnarled like talons, and they walked with ease on gravel on which I would not have been able to take one step. They wore long black dresses of coarse wool, dresses with tight-fitting sleeves and bodices and large full skirts.

The mother did most of the talking; and I noticed that as she talked the other woman became coy, holding the corner of a gray wool shawl to her mouth.

The status of Lahuli women is different from that of Kulu women. They carry the full burden of the house and the main burden of the fields. The men plow in the spring and help out with the harvest in the fall. The rest of the time they sit under a tree and watch the women hoe, cultivate, and weed. And when the wheat or barley is cut, it is the women who carry it in baskets or slings on their backs to the threshing floor and winnow out the grain. Lahul is indeed a man's world. Kulu women, who, as I have said, enjoy a large degree of equality, therefore do not like to marry Lahuli men. A Lahuli woman likes to escape her drudgery and marry a Kulu man. A Kulu marriage is indeed the ambition of Lahuli girls. That is the way my cook, Budh Ram, got his lovely wife. She had come across Rothang Pass one day, and Budh Ram soon claimed her as a bride.

These Lahuli women, like the other Trans-Himalayan girls described in Kamal, *Land without Laughter*, though in an inferior social position, have a large degree of independence in their sexual relations. We would call them promiscuous. Budh Ram bashfully told me one day, "The Lahuli girls will run, but it is easy to catch them."

[1] [i.e. Lahuli women— ANALYST]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

562
836 Part of the loose morality is doubtless due to the fact that these girls live along the caravan route where lonely, carefree men from Yarkand, Leh, and Manali travel. These caravan men laugh when anyone speaks of prostitutes. Of course there are no prostitutes. One takes what he wants and goes his way.

I did not know all of this as Rahul continued his long conversation with the two women I had helped ford the stream. I was to learn about Lahuli women later. I did know that something highly personal and intimate was being discussed because the women, at first bashful and coy, were now giggling and laughing. Finally I asked, "Rahul, what the devil goes on? Are you arranging a date come evening time?"

"No, no." He roared with laughter. "This woman with the child has been telling me what a wonderful person the other woman is. You see, they are sisters. This one without a child likes you. She wants you to stay with her tonight in their village of Sissu." By now the women stood watching me, grinning.

We were eating the condensed TF Army rations for lunch. I pretended to cogitate on the proposition as I finished a cereal bar and munched salted almonds. Finally I announced the decision. "Rahul, we'll compromise. Tell her that instead of staying in their village I will give each of them a present."

With that I reached into the TF rations, found four cookies, and gave two to the baby and one each to the women. As Rahul translated my message and presented the cookies, they gave us angry side glances and took the trail to Sissu.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

were engaged, becoming so violent that our tents partly blew down we were partly helped to descend, for its inhospitality drove us on into Kargil. The camping ground is a very pleasant one near some mills by a stream. On through a gradually narrowing gorge to Lotsun, where half of the whole march is done, then through Darkit, where the "headman" of the wee village is a woman, and then at last the defile opens out, and the mountains round the valley of Mulbek come into view.

As we emerge we see our first *chortens* on the hill on our right, and a little further on we notice that another broad valley enters the Mulbek one at an obtuse angle, while whole ranges of mountains come into view, vast upheavals at all sorts of angles. Still a little further till we have to turn our heads well round on the right, then at last we spy, built into the side of the rock behind and facing that other valley, Shergol, our first lamasary, the queerest, most elfish of structures, only distinguishable by its whitewash from the rocky formation into which it seems to merge. Now indeed we are back into Lamaland. Even before this, while watching for our first *dGonpa* (monastery), again a perfect little picture has claimed our attention on the left. A dear old grandmother, with her white uncovered locks blowing round her cheery wrinkled old face, is standing near a mossy-looking rock from which spring-water is falling, with her picturesque country basket, a four-sided structure converging to a cone-like point, at her side. This is a medicinal spring, famed for its tonic effect on the stomach, but on inquiry, the old lady says she has been applying the water to her arms and shoulders for which it is also remedial. Evidently she suffers from rheumatism in her old age.

The next part of the road has already been referred to in our third chapter with its ludicrous resemblances to scenes and statues, all the more fantastic for the stately majesty of the great hills behind. Had the long march so wearied us that we were getting dreamy, or was that really an old judge in

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

while the right hand feeds the wool on to the spindle and pulls it out into long threads. These two activities of *malches* and *kalches* are the constant occupations of the women in their homes, and do not hinder them from keeping their eyes on the family dinner cooking on the stove, or on the babies crawling round the floor. Spinning is continued also while they sit on the roof with their neighbours, gossiping and watching the happenings on the adjacent house-tops. Even to purdah Mussulman ladies, who are not too strict, the roof is available. Roof-land in the East is the woman's special domain, where she can gather all the news, and witness many an interesting street scene, the participants little thinking of the fair eyes enjoying all the thrills of their quarrellings from their vantage-point behind the tiny slits or windows in the low walls which sometimes surround the flat roof. More often, however, the roofs of the houses, whose owners keep ponies, have a light wall all round, made with bundles of lucerne which slowly dry there, and in this land of scanty rainfall remain in good condition until the next harvest, adding a picturesque touch to the appearance of the dwelling.

After the wool has been spun on to the *p'ang* it is taken off from two of the latter, placed side by side, and wound on to a ball. Then they are twisted together on to another *p'ang*, which has a little wooden disk attached to one end. This process of *zhuches* is combined with the *kalches* by many spinners, but if done separately, the resulting home-spun is less likely to be crooked or to pull and give in the wrong directions. Another advantage of doing the twisting alone is that it may be done in the bazar while the ladies spend the afternoon marketing. Having arrived with baskets on their backs, filled with the little local vegetables grown in their small gardens or weeded out from their cornfields, their twisting is also brought, and a lot of wool can be prepared while they stand about or squat on the ground, talking to their fellow-vendors in the intervals between attending to their

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

539

(*c*) [Looking] at the tricks of the plucky Balti, the heart of the timid Tibetan is lost. 181

(*d*) An explanation of the constant bad luck of the West-Tibetans on the ground of the national character.

(*e*) *Bkolbkol* is a word which seems to occur only in this connection. 000

45. (*a*) མཉམ་པོ་འདུག་པ་ཐན་མ་ལ་ཁྱོད།། 539 793

(*b*) nyam'po dug'pa la'maa khyod'. 609

(*c*) [When] living together, [we say] "thou" to a lama. 192

(*d*) Respect is lessened by closer acquaintance.

(*e*) *Khyod* is the common word for addressing inferiors or comrades. A lama ought to be addressed with *nyerang*; *dugspa* = *dugpar*. The Supine is sometimes used instead of the Gerund. 000

46. (*a*) མནའ་མ་མནའ་མ་ཟེར་རྙིའི་མིའི་ཡོག་མོ་ཡིན། 539 562

ཀྱབ་ལ་གཡུ་ཞུང་བཏགས་གའི་སེམ་བའི་མཁོ་བསྐོར་ཡིན།། 301

(*b*) na'ma na'ma zer'ra ning' mi'i yog'mo in'.
gyab'la yu'zhung tag'ga ning sem'pä gob'skor in'.

(*c*) [Although they] call her daughter-in-law, she is the servant of men. On the back many turquoises are fastened, but it is a deceit of the soul.

(*d*) Refers to the low position of the Ladakhi woman.

(*e*) *Zerra* and *tagga* are corrupted from *zerbar* and *btagpar*. The supine used instead of the gerund = *gyuzhung* = *gyuchung* = small turquoises. See also *buzhung* for *buchung*. All Ladakhi women wear their turquoises on a strap of leather which is fastened on the head and descends to the middle of the back. *Semba* = *sems*, soul. *samba* = thought.

47. (*a*) ཁྲ་དྲས་ཀོ་བྱག་ཟེར་པ། རྒྱངས་ཀའི་མིག་འཕྲུལ།། 539

(*b*) Kha'tā ko'wag zer'pa, cung'kā mig' thrul'.

(*c*) The crow has said *kowag*; [in the] eye of the raven it is mistaken.

(*d*) A man may say something very nice, [for instance *kowag*] his enemy will find great faults in it.

(*e*) *Zerpa* is past participle; *cungka* = *skyungka*. 000

595 583 428 she and her husband actually owned two houses and they had what, on the surface, looked like an ordinary monogamous marriage. However, the two properties were not amalgamated. The woman was to carry on the name of Bata and the man that of the Tsungarpa house. Consequently, of the three boys which issued from this marriage, the first two inherited the Tsungarpa house, while the youngest inherited his mother's house and was entrusted with carrying on the name of that family.

[428] 842 587 562 357 One of the sons of these three brothers, Murup, inherited the Bata house from his uncle, but remained childless after twenty years of marriage. In such a case, oddly

842 enough, the Tibetans seem to think that it
587 is the husband's fault and they usually
562 take in another man, in the hope that
357 there will be children. Such a man is
[104] known as a *porsag*, that is, a man brought in for the purpose of fathering a child. However, when I asked this woman why she had remarried, if it was because she had no children, or because her husband was too old, she said, "No, those are only the official reasons." After I gained her confidence, she told me that she had married the second husband because she needed a servant in the house, and she found it cheaper to have another husband than to have a servant she would have to pay!

581 If a Tibetan woman marries a Moham-
177 medan, she has to leave the polyandrous practice and becomes a member of the usual Mohammedan family system. The woman always takes the husband's religion, so that a Moslem girl who marries into a Buddhist family becomes polyandrous.

595 Now it must not be imagined that polygyny (where a man has a number of wives) does not exist in Tibet. One occasionally finds a case as when a young man goes on a long voyage and meets a girl of his choice and his brothers agree to bring her into the house. Thus, in Rupchu, I have seen three brothers sharing two wives, so that anything seems to be possible among the Tibetans and, on the whole, the system seems to work very well.

584 The children in Tibet are betrothed
593 when they are 10 or 12 years old, usually
588 by the parents. But this is not always the case. Very often the eldest boy chooses a wife himself, and his brothers and the other members of his family have to accept this woman as the common wife; they have no choice in the matter. But there is yet another custom in the Tibetan family which to us Westerners appears extraordinary indeed. As soon as the children are married, the parents are obliged to leave the house and the children take over. The father and mother must go to live in a smaller house, usually on

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

POSITION OF THE WOMEN.

562 462 To a native of India the complete social liberty of the women of Ladākh seems very strange. This liberty, I think it may be said, is as great as that of workmen's wives in England; not only do Lādakhī women go about unveiled, but also they mix where men frequent and enter with them into their pursuits of business or pleasure, and partake too of their toil. I have told what good weight-carriers the women are; in agriculture also they take their share of the work; when the seed is in, the tending of the fields—the watering and so on—is a great deal left to the women, the men perhaps having work abroad.

595 161 [565] Thus far we may think woman's position here to be better than in India, but what is next to tell darkens the picture. Polyandry, plurality of husbands, is, except among the few richer people, quite general; it is much more nearly universal than is polygamy in India, and for this reason, that polygamy is a custom itself expensive, practically reserved for the well-to-do, while polyandry is an economical arrangement, one established on the poverty of a barren country, and extending throughout the people as far as indigence itself does.

[167] There can be no doubt that the practice of polyandry in Ladākh originated from the smallness of the extent of land that could be tilled and the general inelasticity of the country's resources, while the isolation from the rest of the world—isolation of manners, language, and religion, as well as geographical isolation—hindered emigration. It was found impossible for the younger ones either to marry and settle or to go out for their [593] living. They naturally became mere helpers in the household—farm-servants to the elder brother. From that there came about the curious custom that when the elder brother marries a wife she becomes a wife to all the brothers. The younger brothers remain in a very subordinate position in the family, but the wife is held in common. The children recognize all as father, speaking of their elder and their younger fathers. As many as four brothers thus may become, and do become, husbands to the same wife; I

1: Drew G-S (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A14

562 595 Among a rough people like the Bhots it is difficult to say what would naturally be the character of the women; that is, what it would be if they had the same liberty of ordinary social intercourse which they now possess, but held to the rule of one woman to one man. I incline to think that polyandry has a bad effect on their natures; that, beyond the openness which one admires, it makes them over-bold, shameless, and causes them to be in a general way coarser than their other circumstances need make them. And to the same custom I attribute the greater facileness, as compared with neighbouring countries, with which those connections with foreigners are formed that have resulted in so many varieties of half-castes at Leh.

CERTAIN CUSTOMS.

886 428 There is a rather curious custom of the father and mother of a grown-up family retiring from active life and its responsibilities at a time when they may not be much beyond middle-age. When the son is married and has a child then the time has come for the grandfather and grandmother to leave their home, to give up the house and the land to their son. They go into a very small house near, taking only one or two head of cattle, and retaining just enough land for themselves to attend to and raise grain from for their food. After this is done they have no more claim on the son, who becomes legal owner of the family property. There is often a house attached to a holding which is put to this very use. The amount of land to be given over is regulated by custom; this, on the death of the old people, comes back to the estate. If there be *two fathers* alive they are both got rid of and provided for in this way.

764 177 In the disposal of their dead the Bhots follow the Hindū custom of burning. But whereas the Hindūs seldom or never let twenty-four hours elapse between death and cremation, these Bhots keep the corpse for many days, feasting their friends round it; the higher in rank the deceased man was, the longer they keep him from the dissolution of fire.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans A/V

rock, or they may lie in a nook, under the shelter of a lofty cliff. At the entrance of a monastery are fixed prayer-cylinders; sometimes a courtyard is fitted with them on all sides. These are cylinders with a vertical axis, turning on a pivot; they are furnished inside with a paper on which holy names are written; the making of these revolve is reckoned an act of devotion. In the case of the larger, heavy, cylinders, it is helped by rings being attached, which enable the devotee to give a good impetus to his prayer.* Past these one enters into the image-room; this is generally a fine lofty square chamber, the centre-space of which is supported by columns of wood. Here are kept the images to be adored; images of some of their gods, or of Buddha, or of apotheosised Lāmās. These are sometimes in metal, gilt, sometimes in clay gaudily painted. Often the artist has been successful in giving an expression to the face that well suits the character represented, as for instance the ineffable calm—a calm that, were it less unmoved, would almost express contempt for everything around—on the countenance of Buddha, or Sākya Thubba as he is called, the founder of the religion, whose devotion was continual contemplation of, and whose ideal was absorption in, the divinity. The room is furnished with numerous instruments of worship; with bells and lamps, and sceptres and other emblems, with bags of grain and with bowls of butter—these last sustaining a wick which constantly burns. It is hung with banners finely worked in curious devices, and often the walls are adorned with paintings. The Lāmās periodically assemble in the image-room to worship with prayers and sacrifices, as of grain, and with music. The people occasionally pass in and bow, and mutter a prayer before some of the images. No women, I understood, not even nuns attached to the institution, enter the image-room; they stand and worship at the doorway. This is the more strange as the Lāmās are not at all

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* These prayer-cylinders are sometimes kept in continual motion by water-power. In a monastery in Nubrā I saw a cylinder, 4 feet in diameter and 6 feet in height, which was made to revolve by a stream of water flowing beneath the floor of the room against floats attached to a continuation of its upright axle.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

562 778 jealous of strangers entering any part of the building, which point of liberality surprises one after meeting with so much exclusiveness in this respect as one does from the different religionists of India.

792 In any large family one of the boys was sure to become a Lāmā. First, from an early age, the boy is made a pupil at one of the monasteries; from there he goes to Lhāsa to finish his [178] studies and to be ordained. Latterly boys have not taken so freely to the profession; it seems as if the life of mixed labour, study, meditation, and idleness has less charms for the young than it used to have; or, may be, employment in secular walks is more easy to get. When I was in Ladākh the chief Lāmās [647] were fearing that the supply would fail. In a monastery there are two head Lāmās; one the leader in spiritual matters, the other the manager of its temporal affairs. I had a great deal to do with the *chagzot*, as this latter dignitary is called, of several of the larger monasteries. I found them to be men of genial and amiable disposition, of refined and dignified manners. Some of the *chagzot* had good business powers; to certain of them was entrusted the administration of a small district around their monasteries; the duties of this office most of them performed in such a way as both to satisfy the authorities above them and to keep the people in good heart. The dress of the Lāmās is the woollen gown or *choga*, dyed either red or yellow according to the sect they belong to; the red sect much predominates in Ladākh. They shave their heads, and most of them go without a covering; those of higher rank wear hats of various designs; some have very wide-brimmed red hats [788] made of stiffened felt. Lāmās very commonly carry in their hands a small prayer-cylinder, constructed so as to turn on its handle by the force given to a bullet attached to it by a little chain; the turning of this is equivalent for them to saying one's prayers or telling one's beads.

Some of the monasteries are endowed, some, I think, get help from Lhāsa, but the greater part depend on the alms given them by the villagers. At harvest time the Lāmās receive from the

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
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who could make themselves understood to me and I to them, I began to realize that, as may be expected from a man when he is faced with the choice of hard work for life and poverty in his old age, or the possibility of a life not so hard and care in his old age, many were not really as devout, sincere and moral in their lives and thoughts as they should be and could be classified as professional lamas; it may be that I expected too much from them.

At the entrance to the monastery there were as always a number of prayer cylinders; upon entering we rotated these, thus sending our prayers to heaven as we passed. At the entrance were also quite a few savage mastiffs which are there to guard the gates—from whom I did not discover—but they looked most vicious brutes even when the lama on duty held them back from us. In the courtyard was a large square building containing the images; no woman may enter here. The dimly lit chapel, odorous with incense, was interesting with elaborately and beautifully carved images of Buddha in all kinds of stone, some being gilded. Spread out before the most important of them all was the most amazing collection of gifts, a French gilded clock, a Venetian glass vase with lustres hanging, a basket shape made up of coloured sea shells and filled with faded feather flowers, an ivory pagoda shape, and most surprising of all, a china funeral wreath under its glass canopy. The walls had the most lovely Chinese silk and Tibetan gold-embroidered velvet hangings. Beneath these were some bowls of "incarnation water". To one side was a large stool, rather like a low table with a small rail around it; this had two steps leading up to it and was cloth covered, obviously the pulpit from which the Head Lama preached as he sat. To one side and at the feet of a great Buddha, were dull gilded metal "champagne cups".

The most beautiful murals had been painted on the walls; the Chinese school revealed itself in many of them. Each of the figures was as though floating in a cloud in the heavens; one, a fair Tibetan figure playing a stringed instrument, was surrounded by white clouds, the next, a bolt-eyed, dark skinned warrior with a sword in his hand floated in dark clouds. The Buddhist Ceylon priest said that they depicted Good and Evil: the Head Lama went into the story of a war fought between Lamas and invaders. I am inclined to believe my P Ceylon friend.

scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

There can be little doubt that the modest prosperity of the Ladākhis, in contrast to the universal poverty of Baltistān, is due to the practice of polyandry, which acts as a check on population. Whereas the Baltis, used to the extremes of temperature, are able to seek employment in hot countries, the Ladākhis would die if they were long away from their peculiar climate. In a family where there were many brothers, the younger ones could neither marry nor go abroad for their living. When the eldest son marries, he takes possession of the little estate, making some provision for his parents and unmarried sisters. The eldest son has to support the two brothers next him in age, who share his wife. The children of the marriage regard all three husbands as father. If there be more than two younger brothers, they must go out as Lāmas to a monastery, or as coolies; or, if he be fortunate, a younger son can marry an heiress, and become a Magpa. (If there is no son in a family the daughter inherits, and can choose her own husband, and dismiss him at will with a small customary present. The Magpa husband is thus always on probation, as the heiress can discard him without any excuse or ceremony of divorce.) When the eldest dies or becomes a Lāma, the next brother takes his place. But the wife, provided there are no children, can get rid of his brothers. She ties her finger by a thread to the finger of her deceased husband. The thread is broken, and she is divorced from the corpse and the surviving brothers. The woman in Ladākh has great liberty and power. She can, if she likes, add to the number of her husbands. Drew, who had a very intimate knowledge of Ladākh, thinks that polyandry has had a bad effect on the women, making them overbold and shameless. But others, who are equally entitled to form an opinion, consider this an unfair criticism.

In the town of Leh are many families of half-castes known as Arguns, the results of the union between Ladākhi women and Kashmīris, Turkī caravan-drivers, and Dogrās. The Dogrā children were known as Ghulāmzādas, and were bondmen to the State. The half-castes of Leh are no more unsatisfactory in Tibet than elsewhere, and many travellers have testified to the good qualities of the Argun.

The monasteries (*Gompa*) play an important part in the life of the Ladākhis. Nearly every village has its monastery, generally built in a high place difficult of access. At the entrance are prayer cylinders, sometimes worked by water-

A Trip to Ladakh

782 This pocket set is a most neat and clever arrangement, for the paten and stand are so made that they fit beautifully into the metal pot which is the chalice. Every Buddhist can be his own priest and give the Elements to himself.

291 Many wear a chatelaine attached to their leather belt,
293 on which hang most of the things mentioned, and thus their belt is left free for other goods and chattels. Their shoes are generally felt top-boots, often of gaudy colours.

The head-dress is a cloth cap, not infrequently of the same colour as their dress, but I am not able to describe it as I have never seen anything like it; it is perhaps a little like a Balaclava cap or a helmet with flaps. It is
291 most picturesque and odd-looking. The whole costume
301 seems to suit the Mongol features excellently, especially
302 with the long pigtail hanging down the back, which always covers the back of the cloak with black grease. The women dress much like the men, only their head-dress is different. They wear a "pirak"—that is, a piece of red cloth about six or eight inches wide, which starts from the forehead and continues down the back nearly to the waist. It is covered with rows of precious stones, chiefly rough pieces of turquoise, and silver ornaments. This system of carrying their wealth on their heads shows how honest these people are. Then on each side of the face, and sewn on to this strip of cloth, are two pieces of astrakhan, which are made to stick out at right angles to the face some six inches, like black wings. Altogether it is most becoming.

• 562 The women in this country are not "purdah," and are treated on equal terms with the men. It is most refreshing. They are not the least shy or bold. They are just their smiling jolly selves, like their menfolk.

000 I have mentioned a few pages previously that on enter-

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

did not feel inclined to move, so I tied him to a rock and went off in search of some landmark, for I seemed to have reached the top of the ridge. However, I soon found I could not walk more than twenty paces at a time, and a most splitting headache came on. It felt as if my head blood vessels would burst, and I had *mal de montagne* properly. After wandering about aimlessly I became aware I was up against a precipice. When the moon rose it was now one A.M., and then I saw I was under the foot of a glacier, a great cliff of ice over seventy feet high, which seemed to bulge out at the top like the curve of a huge breaker. It was very impressive, and for the moment I forgot my headache.

I had meant to stay on the pass to see the sunrise, but my powers of endurance gave out. My one desire was to get down the mountain, where I could breathe in comfort, so I descended to the rock where I had left my pony, and I soon began to recover my equilibrium as I descended. When I returned to Leh I made inquiries after my guide, but I never discovered what happened to him and therefore never knew why he gave me the slip.

About twenty miles from Leh is a very large and important monastery called Hemis, and once in every twenty years they have an especially important religious play, so Dr Neve and I hired ponies and joined the happy throng of pilgrims.

It was an interesting and amusing sight to see people of all classes making their way on foot and horseback to this far-famed monastery. On several ponies were two riders, the man in front and his lady behind. As polyandry is the custom in Ladakh, the wife is therefore the lord and master, so one expected to see the lady riding in front and one or more husbands riding pillion, for we often saw three passengers riding one horse. We passed two ladies